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# CANADA

AND

## HER RELATIONS WITH THE MOTHER COUNTRY:

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY THE HON.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART., G.C.M.G., C.B.,

(HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA),

AT THE MEETING OF THE TYNESIDE GEOGRAPHICAL  
SOCIETY, AT NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE, ON

NOVEMBER 21ST, 1895.

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THE intrepid French navigator, Jacques Cartier, first entered the Gulf of the mighty St. Lawrence, and landed at the port of Brest, on the Labrador coast, on the 1st day of July, 1534. Three days later he again landed at Gaspe, in the neighbourhood of the Miramichi River, planted the cross, and took formal possession of the country in the name of the King of France. A year afterwards he returned from France and penetrated to Quebec, and thence to Montreal.

For at least 150 years there was a constant struggle for ascendancy between the English and the French on the American Continent, but it was nearing its close when Louisburg—a strong fortress in that part of Canada now called Cape Breton—was captured in 1758 by General Amherst, in which event Brigadier Wolfe took a conspicuous part. It was followed the next year by the heroic capture of Quebec, which rendered the name of General Wolfe immortal, and wrested nearly half a Continent from the Crown of France. Canada was ceded to England in 1763 by the Treaty of Paris, and 28 years afterwards it was divided into Upper and Lower Canada, and again united under the administration of Lord Sydenham in 1841. On the first day of July 1867—just 333 years from the day on which Jaques Cartier took possession of the country—an Act of the Imperial Parliament united Nova Scotia and New Brunswick—then called Acadia—(the territory forming which was ceded to England under the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713) and Canada under one Government, and made provision for the consolidation of all British North America.

The Hudson Bay territory—now forming the province of Manitoba and the provisional districts of Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Athabasca—was acquired in 1870. British Columbia joined the confederation a year afterwards, and Prince Edward Island followed its example in 1873. The Dominion of Canada, therefore, comprises all the British possessions in North America except Newfoundland.

The constitution provides for a Governor-General appointed by the Crown, a Senate of 78 members, named by the Crown for life, representing the different Provinces, a House of Commons—now consisting of 216 members—elected in one day by the people every five years, unless sooner

dissolved. The Government is carried on by the Privy Council, or Cabinet, holding office while able to command a majority in the Commons. Each of the provinces has a Lieutenant-Governor appointed by the federal Government for five years, and an Executive Council and a Legislature charged with the local affairs exclusively assigned to it by the Imperial Act. The power to legislate upon public debt and property, trade and commerce, customs and excise, postal service, militia and military and naval service and defence, marriage and divorce, the criminal law, etc.; and, in relation to all matters not coming within the classes of subjects exclusively assigned to the Legislatures of the provinces, is vested in the central Parliament of the Dominion.

Canada extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and from the 42nd degree of north latitude to the Arctic Ocean. It is larger than the United States adjoining its southern border. The climate is healthful and invigorating. The thermometer registers a low degree of cold in some parts during the winter, but, owing to the dryness of the atmosphere, occasions no inconvenience. The isothermal line trends to the north as you go west.

Canada's prairie regions offer, probably, the greatest area of land still available for the settlement of the races from northern, central and western Europe. The climatic conditions prevailing there over an extent of country estimated at 500,000 square miles south of 60° north latitude, render it suitable for the production of all crops grown in the United Kingdom. Macoun, in his "*Manitoba and the North-west*," says: "Geologists are aware that high arid plains ameliorate the climate of countries to the north of them," and Blodgett, in his work on the climatology of the United States, says that "High arid plains are decisive of a high degree of summer heat, with an arid atmosphere and little rain and snow." Lying immediately to the south of our border there is an immense plateau of arid country with an average elevation of at least 6,000 feet, reaching in parts 7,000 feet, constantly receiving enormous quantities of heat in the day, and giving it off by radiation at night. This plateau rapidly falls off to the north, so that at Pembina, on the Canadian boundary in the east, it is less than 1,000 feet, and at Macleod, at the base of the Rocky Mountains, under 4,000 feet. As the plain descends persistently towards the north the warm air is drawn down to the lower level, and thus affects the summer climate of the north-west. For the same reason the moisture-laden winds from the Gulf of Mexico and the Gulf of California drift to the north. They carry their fertilizing burden over the heated plateau of the "Great American Desert," and deposit it on the lower plains in Canadian territory in the form of the summer rains which cause such astonishing growth in June and July. Another source of climatic amelioration is to be found in the prevailing chinook or west winds blowing in from the Pacific, warmed by the Japanese current.

The climate of a large portion of Canada is similar to that of France, with more severe winters. Baron Sydenham, in his memoirs, says: "I am delighted to have seen this part of the country—I mean the great district nearly as large as Ireland placed between the lakes Erie, Ontario and Huron. You can conceive nothing finer; a climate certainly the best in North America." In that district peaches growing in orchards, and grapes (which ripen in the open air) for the table, and the manufacture of wine are among the most profitable pursuits of the agricultural community. In

the season heavy special trains are dispatched every morning from the Niagara district, laden with peaches and grapes of the most delicious flavour. Indian corn, melons, and tomatoes ripen as field crops, and apples and pears grow abundantly in all the Provinces, except Manitoba. Nova Scotia is famed for its apples, which are largely exported to this country and to the United States. His Excellency the Earl of Aberdeen is carrying on fruit and hop culture on a large scale in British Columbia. It may be stated that all the fruits, large and small, that are common in Great Britain grow abundantly in Canada, while many others produced largely under glass here are raised in the open air in the Dominion. Horses and neat cattle in the North-West Territories and British Columbia live and thrive in the open country throughout the year. I found vegetation of all kinds much more advanced in Victoria, British Columbia, in the middle of April than in Italy on the same date in the next year. The census of 1891 showed the death rate in Canada to be lower than was given by the statistics of any other country. These facts, I venture to think, ought to dispose of the bugbear of the climate of Canada, which is so often the subject of misrepresentation.

The coast line, including the indentations, exceeds 10,000 miles both on the Atlantic and Pacific. The finest fish—salmon, halibut, mackerel, cod-fish, haddock, trout, herring, etc., abound in these waters, as well as lobsters and oysters of the finest description. The coast is lighted with 750 lighthouses, besides over 500 beacon lights, all being free to the world. The yield of the fisheries last year was \$20,719,573, or more than that of France, notwithstanding the enormous bounties paid by that country. No better evidence can be given of the value of the Canadian fisheries than the result of the International Arbitration held at Halifax in 1875, to decide upon the relative value of the fisheries of the United States and Canada. After hearing all the testimony that could be adduced by both countries, an award of \$5,500,000, over and above reciprocal privileges, was given to Canada for the use of its waters by American fishermen for twelve years.

The commercial marine of Canada is only exceeded by that of Great Britain, the United States, Norway and Sweden, and Germany. It is greater than that of any other country, furnishing employment to 60,000 hardy sailors, who are to be found on every sea. Seven armed steam cruisers are employed on the coast for the protection of the fisheries.

The agricultural capabilities of Canada are very great. Nothing is so essential to the progress and prosperity of such a country as the possession of a soil and climate suitable for the production of wheat. Canada tried by this standard will be found to occupy no mean position. It is but yesterday that Manitoba and the great north-west was the home of savages and the buffalo; yet, although the fringe only of that great granary has been touched, more wheat has been raised during the present year than in the whole of the United Kingdom. It is well known that the farther north wheat will come to perfection the better it is. The bulk of the wheat grown on the prairies of Manitoba and the north-west is of the red Fife variety, and is known as No. 1 Hard—the highest grade. It took the gold medal in competition with the world at the Miller's Exhibition in London a few years ago, and again, last year, at the World's Fair at San Francisco. Berbohm's estimate, corrected by the London *Standard*, gives the wheat crop of the United Kingdom for 1895 as 4,600,000 quarters, or

36,800,000 bushels. A careful estimate by the best authorities shows the Canadian wheat crop as follows :—

	BUSHELS.	BUSHELS.
Manitoba* ..	31,000,000	
North-west territories ..	5,000,000	
		36,000,000
Ontario, usually 26,000,000 bushels, is this year but ...	16,575,000	
Quebec ..	2,656,000	
Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island ..	1,600,000	
British Columbia ..	312,000	
		21,143,000
Total ...	57,143,000	

In addition to the wheat crop Manitoba has, this year, produced 24,988,102 bushels of oats and 5,758,224 bushels of Barley, or in all, 61,636,402 bushels of grain.

It may not be out of place to mention, in this connection, that Manitoba has now but 25,000 farmers ; and, that the census of 1881 gave the wheat crop at 1,033,673 bushels ; oats, at 253,604 bushels ; and barley, at 1,270,268 bushels. In all, about 2,557,545 bushels, while the total crops of grain, of all kinds, in the North-West Territories in 1881 was 305,496 bushels.

The average yield per acre of wheat in the United Kingdom, this year, is 25 bushels; of oats, 38 bushels; and of barley, 33 bushels. In Manitoba the figures are—wheat, 28 bushels; oats, 50 bushels; and barley, 38 bushels.

When it is remembered that the decrease in the wheat area in the United Kingdom since 1870 is 2,974,611 acres, and that—according to Mr. Crawford, in his paper before the Statistical Society—the consumption of this country will demand an importation of 200,000,000 bushels of wheat, it must be a source of unqualified satisfaction to know that the figures I have given show, beyond question, that a great British Dominion—within five days' journey—is capable of such development as to be able, at no distant date, to furnish all that the demands of the mother country require. No better confirmation of these statements could be found than those contained in the reports of the delegations of practical British tenant farmers, which have visited Canada from time to time in recent years to report upon its agricultural resources.

In live stock Canada compares, relatively, very well with this country and the United States, as will be seen from the statistics of 1894 :—

#### LIVE STOCK PER 1,000 HEAD OF POPULATION.

	UNITED KINGDOM.	UNITED STATES.	CANADA.
Horses ..	54	239	298
Milch cows ..	101	264	378
Other neat cattle ..	176	557	462
Sheep ..	772	574	520
Swine ..	97	917	352

The large exports of Canadian horses to this country are steadily increasing—a fact which proves their excellence.

\*A recent telegram in *The Times* (27th November, 1895) states that the reports gathered by the Winnipeg Bankers give the total wheat crop of Manitoba as 33,000,000 bushels, an average of 29.68 bushels per acre.

The export of Canadian cattle to this country rose from 63 head in 1874 to 107,689 in 1891; it was 80,531 last year, and will be still larger this year, notwithstanding the scheduling enforced for the protection of British agriculturalists. This exclusion of store cattle is bitterly denounced by Scotch and English feeders, on the ground that they are not only the healthiest, but much the most profitable.

The progress of the dairy interest speaks volumes. Our export of cheese to this country in 1867 was but 6,111,482 lbs. In 1880 the imports from Canada were 40,368,678 lbs., and from the United States, in 1881, 148,000,000 lbs. That position has been more than reversed, as last year we sent you 154,977,480 lbs. as against 78,852,134 lbs. from the United States. More than 55 per cent. of the cheese imports of the United Kingdom now come from Canada. Butter, and other produce of the dairy, is being produced in increasing quantities; and the export of bacon and other pork products is expanding rapidly.

The forests of Canada now stand pre-eminent—extending in an almost unbroken line for 2,000 miles from the Atlantic to the head waters of Lake Superior. Our export of timber and lumber last year was \$26,504,000. So dependent are the United States upon our forests that even the McKinley tariff largely reduced the duty upon our woods. British Columbia has, without doubt, the largest almost untouched forests upon the globe. Canada is the paradise of sportsmen with either rod or gun. All parts of it abound with game in great variety. The list includes moose, deer of various kinds, bears (black and grizzly), mountain sheep and goats, wild geese, ducks, ptarmigan and prairie chicken, and, in fact, all kinds of small game; while in Vancouver Island two kinds of quail and pheasants, which were imported, are now plentiful. Salmon and trout abound in the maritime provinces and in British Columbia, and it may be said that the rivers in every province are teeming with fish.

The mineral wealth of Canada is very great. Coal of the best quality and of immense extent is found in Nova Scotia, the North-West Territories, the Rocky Mountains and Vancouver Island. The output has increased from 623,392 tons in 1868 to 4,000,000 tons during the last year. That of Vancouver Island is the best steam coal on the Pacific coast. Iron ore, rivalling the best Swedish, is found throughout the Dominion, and in close proximity to coal, both on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. Gold has furnished a steady productive industry to Nova Scotia for thirty years past. Valuable gold mines are now being worked in the Lake of the Woods district, near Rat Portage, on the Rainy River, and in various parts of British Columbia. Over \$50,000,000 have been found in the placer mines of that Province, and 700 miners from the United States are now engaged in gold mining with great success in the Kootenay district, where \$3,000,000 of gold have been this year exported from one point—Kaslo. It is found in iron ore known as pyrrhotite in quartz veins. Valuable gold mines have been found on our side of the boundary between Canada and Alaska on the Yukon; and at Alberni on Vancouver Island. Silver mines of great richness are also being worked in British Columbia. Capital is pouring in to that province to develop both gold and silver mines on a large scale. The only important nickel mines in the world except those in New Caledonia are at Sudbury in Ontario. An export of many millions of dollars has taken place since they were opened in 1890. The Government of the United States obtained all the nickel used for the nickel steel with which

their war vessels are armour-plated from the Sudbury mines. A large amount of copper has also been furnished from the same mines. Copper mines are also worked in the province of Quebec, and in Cape Breton. Large deposits of apatite, or phosphate of lime, are found near Ottawa.

I must not forget to mention the great development of the manufacturing industry which has been witnessed in Canada in recent years. Both the capital invested, the wages paid, and the value of the products are continually on the increase.

The progress of Canada seems to have been overshadowed by the great Republic on our border. But when it is recollect that Canada had but 90,000 souls on the revolt of the American Colonies, which then contained a population of 3,500,000, it will be seen that our relative increase since that time has been much greater than theirs.

Some idea may be formed of our educational position from the statement of the Hon. Geo. W. Ross, the Minister of Education of the province of Ontario, who said on a recent occasion:—"We have built 16,154 public schools, 14 universities, 41 colleges, and over 300 high schools, and expend annually about \$12,000,000 to prepare 1,000,000 boys and girls for future citizenship." I may add that all the schools are free to the pupils, and are supported by direct taxation, and grants from the Provincial Treasuries.

Confederation gave a wonderful impetus to Canada. In 1867 we had but 2,250 miles of railway in all the provinces—now we have 16,000. The construction of an inter-oceanic railway across the Continent from Halifax to Vancouver—3,836 miles—at a cost to the Exchequer of \$107,500,000, was a gigantic work, never surpassed by 5,000,000 of people. Canada has expended \$41,700,000 since the union in deepening her canals, and now that the Sault St. Marie Canal has been opened, we can boast of an uninterrupted water way from the Straits of Belle Isle to Port Arthur, at the head of Lake Superior, 2,260 miles in extent. The Sault Ste. Marie Canal on the Canadian side has recently been constructed at a cost exceeding \$4,000,000. Some idea may be formed of the traffic at this point from the fact that 11,214,353 tons of shipping passed through the Sault Ste. Marie Canal during the seven months of navigation in 1892, or, 3,502,304 more than passed through the Suez Canal during the whole of that year. The effect of this development of internal means of communication is seen in the immense expansion of inter-provincial trade, which can only be said to have commenced since confederation.

The trade of Canada rose from \$131,027,352 in 1868 to \$240,999,889 in 1894. The exports during the same period increased from \$57,501,988 to \$117,524,949. Sauerbeck estimates the fall in prices from 1891 to 1894 at 10½ per cent., and it was much greater in the products exported by Canada; yet, notwithstanding the fall in prices, and the depression that prevailed between 1889 and 1894, our exports increased \$28,000,000 and our imports \$3,500,000. Eighty-five per cent. of the trade of Canada is carried on with Great Britain and the United States, and in nearly equal proportions. Taking the imports for 27 years since confederation, we find a yearly average of \$44,663,000 from Great Britain, and \$44,857,000 from the United States. It must not be forgotten, however, that a large portion of our imports from the United States is raw material. It is interesting to observe that while our trade with this country has increased from \$80,422,000 in 1889 to \$107,256,000 in 1894, it has decreased with the United States from \$94,080,000 to \$88,844,000. It is a very gratifying

fact that during the financial crisis which for some years back so seriously affected the United States, under which hundreds of banks and financial institutions in that country succumbed, not a single bank in Canada has failed from a similar cause. One of the sterling evidences of the progress and prosperity of our country is shown by the deposits of the savings of the people, which have risen from \$33,653,594 in 1868 to no less than \$270,000,000 in 1894, and it must be borne in mind that, as stated by Mr. Hague, one of our leading bankers, recently, these figures are not swelled with enormous sums deposited by the people of England in our banks, as was the case with Australia. These deposits have increased from 1890 to the present year over \$41,000,000. The payment of wages has increased from 1881 to 1891 by \$40,000,000. The credit of Canada is best shown by its position on the Stock Exchange, where our 3 per cents. now stand at 103. In view of this very condensed sketch of Canada and its progress, you will I think not consider the following graphic picture by my eloquent predecessor, the late Hon. Sir A. T. Galt, unduly coloured. In an address before the Royal Colonial Institute in 1881, he said:—“ Let me now very briefly endeavour to convey to you some partial idea of the magnitude of the trust that has been assumed by Canadians in undertaking the colonisation and government of the northern half of the continent of North America. Picture to yourselves a domain nearly as large as Europe, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, with its southern extremity in the same latitude as the south of France, and its northern boundary along the shores of the Arctic Ocean. Possessing the finest forests in the world, widely spread coal fields, most extensive and productive fisheries, watered by the most remarkable natural distribution of lakes and rivers, enriched with all varieties of minerals, and now known to possess an enormous area of fertile prairie lands destined to become the future granary of England. This vast country reaches, as the crow flies, from ocean to ocean, 4,000 miles, with an area south of the latitude of St. Petersburg of at least 2,000,000 of square miles capable of cultivation, and of which fully one-half produces every crop grown in Great Britain.”

The Hon. William A. Seward, when Secretary of State under President Lincoln, penned the following prophetic words:—

“ Having its Atlantic seaport at Halifax, and its Pacific depot near Vancouver Island, British America would inevitably draw to it the commerce of Europe, Asia and the United States. Thus, from a mere Colonial dependency, it would assume a controlling rank in the world. To her, other nations would be tributary; and in vain would the United States attempt to be her rival, for we could never dispute with her the possession of the Asiatic commerce, nor the power which that commerce confers.”

But even Mr. Seward, with all his prescience, would hardly expect that the inaugural address of the President of the United States in 1892 would contain the following lament:—

“ . . . . . There were also shipped from the United States over this road from eastern points of the United States to our Pacific ports during the same year 13,912,073 pounds of freight, and there were received over this road at the United States eastern ports from ports on the Pacific coast 13,293,315 pounds of freight. Mr. Joseph Nibbo, Junr., former chief of the bureau of statistics, when before the Senate Committee on relations with Canada, April 26th, 1890, said that the value of goods thus transported between different points in the United States across Canadian

territory probably amounts to \$100,000,000 a year. . . . . The construction of the Canadian Pacific railway, and the establishment, under large subventions from Canada and England, of a fast steamship service from Vancouver with Japan and China, seriously threaten our shipping interests in the Pacific. . . . . The Commissioner of Navigation states that a very large per cent. of imports from Asia are now brought to us by English steamships and their connecting railways in Canada."

At the great World's Fair at Chicago, Canada took a very prominent place. The following is an extract from the report of the British Consul at Chicago to the Earl of Rosebery, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on that Exhibition :—

"Canada has been brought prominently forward in a manner which can scarcely fail to assure permanent benefit. Its chief exhibits were natural products, though the colony was represented in every department except electricity. Its cheese and butter exhibits were remarkable, and gained a disproportionately large number of awards, beating all competitors. Japan is understood to have sent a special commission to examine and report on the methods adopted by the colony in these matters. The show of animals, especially sheep, met with great approval. The quality of Canadian fruit was generally recognised. The exhibit of grain and other products of the north-western provinces has shown what can be grown, and as a result many enquiries have been made with a view to settlement in those parts. The same applies to British Columbia, regarding which province overtures have been made by quite a colony of Austrian subjects for settlement, with a view to fruit growing and general farming."

It is not surprising, that after a careful examination and comparison, a large number of persons are leaving the United States and taking up land in Manitoba and the north-west, where Canada gives 160 acres of good land ready for the plough to every immigrant of 18 years of age or over. The following extract from the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of Minnesota in a recent issue, says :—

"The party arrived here at 11 a.m., over the Milwaukee, having left Kansas over the Missouri Pacific in a special train, consisting of four coaches and 19 cars of freight. The train left at 1:30 p.m., *via* the Soo-Pacific, for the Canadian north-west, where the party will settle on Government land. The party consists entirely of farmers, their wives and families. They have considerable money and property, having sold their homesteads in Kansas at from \$10 to \$15 per acre, and being thrifty and industrious they will make valuable settlers. They will be followed this week by another party of their own nationality from the same point and with the same destination. A large party of Nebraska people will also be brought by the Soo-Pacific next week to north-western points in Canada. In the past ten years the country has never seen such a movement westward of American citizens in the middle States as the trans-continental roads are preparing to handle this season."

The enormous advance made in the great Colonies of Australasia, South Africa and Canada during the Victorian era, has naturally attracted attention to the means by which they may be drawn closer to the mother country, and bound indissolubly to the Empire. It is a question of vital import both to the Colonies and to the United Kingdom. Yet we find a letter in *The Times* of August 15th last, containing the following *ex-cathedra* statement :—

"Either means must be found for including the great self-governing Colonies containing 11 millions of our own race in the system by which the navy is provided and administered, or they must be fairly warned that this cannot be done, and that they must see to their own safety."

On reading this solemn warning to the Colonies that they must pay or go, the intelligent reader would naturally look at the date to see if it was not in the time of George the Third. Finding that it was nearly the end of the nineteenth century he would seek with alarm for the name of the great statesman who had undertaken thus to revolutionize the British constitution. It could not be Mr. Gladstone—that great man whose personal influence in the Parliament of the United Kingdom was even greater than that of Pitt—as he stands pledged by a declaration to Canada as one of a committee of Lord Palmerston's Government in 1865, consisting of the Duke of Somerset, First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord de Grey—now Lord Ripon—Secretary of State for War; Mr. Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Mr. Cardwell, Colonial Secretary—that, if Canada would assume certain expenditures for land defence on the frontier "the Imperial Government fully acknowledged the reciprocal obligation of defending every portion of the empire with all the resources at its command," and "that in case of war it would, as a matter of course, be the duty of any Government in this country to apply its means of naval defence according to the judgment it might form upon the exigencies of each particular time, and the Canadian ministers might be assured that Her Majesty's Government would not permit itself to be found in such a position as to be unable to discharge its duty in this respect."

It could not be the Marquis of Salisbury, who stands at the head of the most powerful party this country has ever known, and who has politely met this jejune proposal by intimating that a divided control of the British navy was not the way to strengthen the empire. No one who reads Lord Salisbury's statesmanlike speech at Exeter, in 1892, need fear his adopting this insulting tone to the Colonies. He said :

"What is it that gives to this little island its commanding position? Why is it that fleets from every nation—from every quarter of the globe—come into your ports; that the products of countless regions are subject to your industry; and, that the manufactures in which the industry of your people compete are carried to the furthest corners of the globe? What is it that gives to you that privileged position? It is that your flag floats over populations far more numerous, and regions far vaster than your own, and that upon the dominion of your Sovereign the sun never sets."

No statesman of the present day would venture to make such a statement as the one referred to, as they all—of whatever party—hold the opinion so well expressed by the late Lord Derby, when, in the "Little England" days, Sir William Molesworth moved his famous resolution in favour of a like proposal to relieve the mother country from civil and military expenditure on account of the Colonies. Lord Stanley—as he then was—said :

"I am compelled to come to the same conclusion as the Under Secretary of State, and, with him, to believe that the effect of this motion, if carried out, would be the entire abandonment of the Colonial empire. To that step I will never consent. I believe it would be an act of political suicide unprecedented in the history of the world."

No ; he would be relieved to find—not the signature of anyone having experience in public life—but that of Mr. Arthur H. Loring. It is true he says in another paragraph of this modest effusion :

"In order to effect this it will be necessary to induce these Colonies to contribute to the cost of naval defence, and the people of the United Kingdom to admit the Colonies to a share in the ownership and the administration of the navy."

I do not believe that any statesman in the United Kingdom who has given the question any consideration can be found who believes the latter part of this proposition to be practicable. I submit then, that as even Mr. Loring declares it to be essential to his demand, he is bound to show how it is to be accomplished. Does he think that the unity of this great empire will be promoted by holding the great Colonies up to obloquy by declaring that they are contributing nothing to the defence of the empire, and are a grievous burden to the taxpayers of this country? How has Canada deserved to be made an object of such contemptuous attack? When Field-marshal Sir Lintorn Simmons was serving in Canada there were 25,000 British troops there, paid from the Imperial Exchequer. When confederation was arranged every important town in British North America was garrisoned at the expense of the mother country. To-day, not a soldier is to be found in the country, except a small force at Halifax, maintained for strategic purposes, and not used in connection with any Canadian necessity; and a force of marines at the important strategic harbour of Esquimalt, maintained at the sole expense of Canada.

At the union, the 5,000 miles of British coast on the Atlantic, and its fisheries, were protected by the British navy. That service is now performed by seven steam cruisers—armed, owned and maintained by Canada. At the union, not a graving dry dock existed in British North America; now, they are provided at Esquimalt, Quebec and Halifax, where the largest men-of-war are docked. Before the union, British North America was composed of weak and isolated provinces, without the means of inter-communication by rail. The three maritime provinces were commercially dependant upon the United States, and, in winter, Ontario and Quebec had no outlet to the sea except New York, Portland and Boston. The great north-west was the abode of savages, for whose conduct England was responsible. It was only accessible from the eastern provinces through a foreign country, and British Columbia was in the same position. Without the expenditure of a dollar by the mother country all this has been changed. The rights of the Hudson Bay Company have been extinguished by purchase; the rights of the Indians acquired by treaties religiously observed, at a cost of \$1,000,000 a year, and civilization is rapidly changing their habits and condition. Law and order are maintained in that country by a force of nearly 1,000 mounted police. A great inter-oceanic railway has been constructed from ocean to ocean, nearly 4,000 miles long, binding the provinces together, and opening up to settlement 200,000,000 of acres between the Red River and the Rocky Mountains—in the fertile prairie district—where millions of British subjects will, ere long, find happy homes under the flag of England.

The highest military and naval authorities declare this trans-continental railway—which brings Yokohama within 20 days of London, and nearer by 1,000 miles than *via* New York; and enables naval crews, soldiers and guns to be sent from Halifax to the fortifications at Esquimalt in six days—to be of inestimable value to the defence of the empire.

Far in excess of anything we were required to do in virtue of the compact with Lord Palmerston's Government—we arm and train, annually, about

38,000 volunteers ; maintain a small permanent force of three batteries of Artillery, two troops of cavalry, and four companies of infantry ; and, maintain nine military schools in the various provinces. This is in addition to the Royal Military College at Kingston, which has already furnished 80 officers who stand high in the estimation of the British army—worthy compeers of Stairs, Mackay and Robinson, who died gloriously upholding the power and prestige of the British flag.

I maintain that Canada is as much a portion of the empire as any part of the United Kingdom, and that the annual expenditure, to which she stands pledged, of nearly \$12,000,000 per annum, for services vital to the defence of the empire ought to save her from misrepresentations that are calculated to undermine the unity of the empire. The management of the defensive forces of Canada is confided to an officer selected from the army by the Imperial Government; and the law provides that in case of war the command devolves upon the commander-in-chief of the army in Canada. The Lords of the Admiralty, after the most careful consideration, have placed on record the opinion that no better means exists of strengthening the naval power of the empire by a moderate outlay than by fast mail steamers built under Admiralty supervision, and prepared to take on armament and to be available for Her Majesty's service as "Royal naval reserve cruisers" whenever required by the British Government. Canada stands pledged by Act of Parliament to pay £190,000 sterling per annum for a fleet of nine such steamships, five of which are now on the Pacific, and the remaining four, I trust, will soon be put on the line between this country and Canada, bringing it and the mother country within five days of each other. These cruisers in time of peace will be strengthening the empire by promoting commerce and inter-communication ; be able to maintain that communication by their speed and armament when ordinary mail steamers would be compelled to abandon the route, and be ready, if required, to carry troops to any part of the world. The past history of Canada warrants the belief that one of the first things for which they would be utilized would be to carry brave Canadian volunteers to any part of the world where the honour or interests of this empire were threatened. Let those who sneer at what Canada has done to promote the unity and integrity of the empire read the testimony of Lord Jersey, who so ably represented the Imperial Government at the conference at Ottawa :—

"Suffice it to say that the spirit which inspires me—and, I doubt not, inspires all my colleagues—is one of absolute sympathy with the far-seeing policy that has called us together, and could there be any more fitting place than the grand Dominion of Canada ? His Excellency has well pointed out her splendid position in this question. It is with wonder that I think what Canada has done to bring the northern and southern parts of this empire together. She has linked the two great oceans, after an exhibition of courage, constancy and skill which has never been surpassed in the history of the world."

At that conference the representatives of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, united in a proposal to join this country in laying a Pacific cable to Australasia—free from the dangers that beset the existing lines—declared by the highest military and naval authorities to be of vital importance to the defence of the empire. Is the past action of Canada not sufficient to prove that she is not insensible to the responsibility that devolves upon her as a component part of this great empire, and that in future as in the past,

she will be always found ready to discharge her duty to the utmost extent of her ability?

When her borders were invaded by a horde of lawless men from the United States, a call for volunteers was eagerly responded to, and in less than twenty-four hours 14,000 armed men were converging upon their foes, who were driven back in confusion. When the insurrection in the northwest of Canada of half-breeds and Indians took place, 4,000 volunteers from the eastern provinces left their homes in mid-winter and crushed it at an expense of several lives and \$6,000,000, without calling upon the troops at Halifax for a man. Major General Brackenbury has put on record the fact that the success of the Nile expedition was due to the French-Canadian voyageurs, who responded with alacrity to the call of Lord Wolesley, who knew by experience their value. A short time ago when there were threatenings in the east, I was directed to place a regiment of Royal Canadian Infantry at the service of the Imperial Government, to be maintained by Canada. The protection of the flag of England is of inestimable value to Canada, and is deeply prized, but I deny that Canada costs this country a single dollar for any purpose whatever, either civil, military or naval. Does any intelligent man believe that if Canada were driven out of the empire, and compelled to become part of the American Republic, that England, which now possesses the finest harbours and the most valuable coal mines, both on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, would be strengthened by having neither the one nor the other on the continent of North America? Or that her power would be increased by having the arsenal and port of the Gibraltar of America in the hands of a foreign power advanced 600 miles nearer this country than at present? Or that her trade would be improved by driving 5,000,000 of loyal Canadians, at no distant date to be 50,000,000, behind a McKinley tariff? No; instead of being able to reduce her army by a man, or her navy by a ship, she would be compelled to increase both largely to maintain her present power and influence.

In reference to the proposal of Mr. Loring and his committee, you will, I hope, permit me to read a few extracts disposing of their question.

*The Times*, of September 7th, says:

" . . . . . The Colonies are to be invited to share the control and administration of the navy, in consideration of a contribution to be made by them towards the cost of its maintenance; and the committee express the truly astonishing opinion that 'a change of the kind suggested, need not necessarily lead to any serious alteration in the present methods of controlling and directing the royal navy.' We really must protest against a proposal to shift the centre of gravity of the British Empire in this light-hearted fashion. . . . . The navy exists primarily for the defence, security and prosperity of the United Kingdom. The defence, security and prosperity of the United Kingdom depends on a world-wide maritime commerce. If, solely for the sake of argument, we assume for a moment that no single Colony retains its connexion with the mother country, it by no means follows that the cost of the naval defence of the United Kingdom, with its world-wide maritime interests, would be reduced to any appreciable extent." ". . . . . Thus the gratuitous defence of the Colonies by the British navy, is perhaps the strongest bond of Imperial union that could be devised, because the Colonies obtain an appreciable advantage at little or no appreciable cost to the mother country. It is certain that the Colonies would be less secure if they could no longer rely on the protec-

tion of the navy ; it is by no means certain that the cost of the naval defence of the United Kingdom and its commerce would be materially diminished if the navy were relieved of the responsibility of defending the Colonies."

Again, *The Times* of October 2nd, says :

" . . . . But such a liability can only be realised on the terms suggested by Mr. Loring and his associates, either by an antecedent federation of the empire, or by fatally weakening the authority, initiative, and independence of the supreme organ of Imperial policy. In other words, the committee represented by Mr. Loring is, as Sir Frederick Young has pointed out, busily and not very profitably engaged in 'putting the cart before the horse.' Either the time is ripe for a federal constitution of the empire or it is not. If it is, the only logical, safe and prudent course is to organise the empire on a federal basis, involving, as it naturally would, the establishment of a system of common defence. If it is not, the establishment of a system of common defence, such as Mr. Loring recommends, cannot lead to the federation of the empire, and failing to lead to it, must make for confusion, disruption and overthrow, by fatally impairing the efficiency and potency of the force which as at present controlled and administered, guarantees the maritime security of every part of the empire, maintains the stability and continuity of Imperial policy, and thereby sustains the loyalty and patriotism of every worthy subject of the British Crown." . . . .

And again, *The Times* of October 19th, says :

"In the first place, we may repeat what we said on Tuesday, that 'it must be clearly and without hesitation admitted that adequate naval defence of the United Kingdom and its world-wide commerce, involves the defence of the Colonies also; that, in fact, the maritime defence of the Colonies is a by-product of that naval supremacy which is vital to our very existence as a nation.' We can, for this reason, give no support whatever to any appeal to Colonial sentiment and opinion, which is founded, directly or indirectly, on the supposed requirements of local maritime defence. . . . .

In point of fact the maritime defence of the Colonies adds little or nothing to the burden which the British taxpayer must bear in his own paramount interests, even if no Colonies were in question. Our maritime commerce is the very life-blood of the nation. In order to maintain its circulation unimpaired in time of war, the British navy must be in strategic command of all the seas of the world. The United Kingdom has thus the strongest possible motive—that of self-preservation—for maintaining a naval defence adequate to its needs, and, as the greater includes the less, a naval defence adequate to the needs of the United Kingdom and its commerce is more than equal to the local maritime defence of all parts of the empire. . . . .

But, inasmuch as the maritime security of the Colonies is necessarily involved in an adequate naval defence of the United Kingdom and its commerce, the control and disposition of the latter must always remain unconditionally in the hands of the responsible Government of the United Kingdom." . . . . .

Believing as I do that the greatness of the empire and the progress and growth of the colonies alike depend upon maintaining indissolubly the connection between them, I need not say how intensely I have been pleased to see this insidious, mischievous and senseless proposal, calculated to disturb the happy relations now existing between the Colonies and the mother country, repudiated, as it has been, by the all but unanimous voice of the press.





